Why Not A Negro Federal Judge in the South? P. 3

The One Target Our Bombers Never Miss Seems to Be The Heart of the Vietnamese People

Saigon—As ever more and more jet fighters, this week's B-52 bombers and even U.S. combat troops unfamiliar with Vietnamese conditions are thrown in, the indiscriminate force unleashed is likely to inflict heavy destruction on the local peasantry on whose allegiance winning the war still depends. . . . A dangerous backfiring effect was also in evidence at recently attacked Songbe, when a Vietnamese survey staff sent by the U.S. Embassy attempted to learn the public reaction and found that 170 out of 310 people approached refused even to talk with them.

—Richard Critchfield in the Washington Star June 22.

"How long will it take some people to realize that bombing Hanoi or Peking will have little or no effect on the guerrilla forces fighting a thousand miles away in the jungles around Saigon. . . . Their strength is that they are a part of the people and the terrain in which they fight. . . . To bomb them is to bomb the women and children, the villagers and the peasants with whom they are intermingled. Our bombing attacks turn the people against us and feed the fires of rebellion."

—McGovern (D. South Dakota) in the Senate June 17.

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What Should the Peace Movement Do?

Roughly speaking, the peace movement may be divided into three groups. One wants to persuade, to win public support for an end to the war in Vietnam and to intervention in the Dominican Republic. These might be termed the democratic forces. A second group is not so much concerned with persuasion as with *testifying,* in the sense that the word has in the Gospels. The term martyr in Greek meant a witness; the Christian martyrs *testified* to their faith. These people want to demonstrate their moral disapproval of war by disobeying the law—refusing to pay taxes, or to serve in the armed forces; by obstructing the draft, or tearing up their draft cards; or urging others to do so. These may be termed the religious forces, though many among them are not religious in a conventional sense. The third group are those who want to express their solidarity with the Viet Cong and the rebels in the Dominican Republic by doing all they can to obstruct the war effort in this country. These may be termed the revolutionary forces; many among them believe peace can only be won by getting rid of the capitalist order in this country.

The Revolutionary Daydreams

It is obvious that these three groups, though often present in the same demonstrations, would lead the peace movement in very different directions. Those who want to work for peace may find it useful first to determine to which of these three groups they belong. Only one of them, the first, can change public opinion for the better. The revolutionaries, in the context of present political realities, can fulfil little more than the role of *agents provocateurs,* giving the government an excuse for repression. Their curious melange of Maoism and Stalinism with Negro nationalism may win a few converts on the Left but only at the expense of strengthening the widespread mania about a Communist conspiracy. Their tactics would have meaning only in a revolutionary situation; in as prosperous a country as this with a conservatively organized labor movement, they couldn't marshal enough men for a *putsch;* they'd be lucky to seize one postoffice. If the cause of world peace depends on the overthrow of American capitalism, there isn't much hope for the world. This is a recipe for holocaust, an apocalyptic Marxist-Leninist version of the old belief in a Second Coming. In any event, the intra-Communist feuds of recent years, from Tito's to Mao's, should be enough to demonstrate that wars will not end with capitalism, that the problem is deeper than social systems.

Are They Our Puppets, Or Are We Theirs?

Saigon—A rocky marriage but no divorce. That about sums up the current relationship between the new military regime here and the American mission. The young generals who now run the government will be more independent thany any regime since that of Ngo Dinh Diem... They are not going to brook any meddling by the U.S. Embassy in South Vietnamese politics. And they will protest strongly any American suspension of North Vietnam bombings or the start of any flimsy negotiations.

—Walt Friedenberg in Wash. Daily News June 22.

As for the religious, we sympathize with them but have little faith in their efficacy. They cannot accomplish in a few crucial months what Isaiah, Buddha, Jesus, St. Francis, Tolstoy and Gandhi could not do in 2500 years. If all hope of stopping a wider conflict disappears, they will perform a moral duty by resistance and abstention. But though this will ease their consciences, it will not affect the course of events. I watched the devoted pacifist handful who held a speak-in at the Pentagon the other day under the admirable Rev. A. J. Muste. Their demonstration had publicity value for the peace movement, but I did not think their speeches at all effective. One speaker several times addressed the curious listeners as "fellow workers of the Pentagon", an archaic echo of the Thirties unlikely to do anything but bolster the stereotype of *peaceniks* as out of this world. Secretary McNamara, once an ACLU-er in Detroit, allowed them to speak on the steps and in the Concourse and gave them a half hour interview. I don't think they said anything that touched him. I suspect they really had nothing to say which was relevant to

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Even Senate Liberals Vote for Inter-American (Inevitably Anti-Democratic) Force

How We Stifle A Creative Popular Revolution in Santo Domingo

The Dominican revolution is slowly being strangled to death by American power. We are to have our way in Santo Dominigo but we are going to lose Latin America in the process. There is no better way to see this than through the eyes of Teodoro Moscoso, who was Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress under Kennedy. In a letter to the *New York Times* (June 9) Moscoso made two points which should not be lost sight of. Moscoso said we invite anti-U.S. attitudes in the hemisphere where we "say that the Dominican people should be free to decide their own fate and then proceed to tell the Dominicans what they should want and what is good for them." This is U.S. dictation, not self-determination.

Birchite Oligarchies

What the U.S. seems to seek are governments far enough to the right to be safely anti-Communist. When it comes to determining what is Communist we are prepared to go along with the native oligarchies. This brings us to Moscoso's second point. "To apply U.S. standards of extremism to Latin America where most societies are polarized between the elite and the masses and where social tensions are high," Moscoso wrote, "is to misunderstand present events." Moscoso said that in many a Latin American country "the equivalent of the John Birch Society is not the lunatic fringe, but a powerful influence in or near government." This is particularly true in the Dominican Republic where, after 30 years of political deep freeze under Trujillo, anyone mildly reformist is regarded as suspect by the oligarchy.

In such societies, revolution may be a necessity, a creative moment in the history of a people. In the Dominican Republic, Reid Cabral's effort to cut down military payrolls angered the Army. Luckily the Army split and part of it was for Bosch's restoration. This made a return to constitutionalism possible. Such opportunities are rare. We stepped in, saved the oligarchy and the reactionary military from defeat, then proceeded to smother the revolution. Under our wing, the Imbert forces were allowed to institute a reign of terror in the countryside, and to blockade Caamano's forces in Santo Domingo. Now our forces, with Imbert's, have begun to cut into the portions of the city held by Caamano.

Familiar Lesson in Algeria

The lesson of the Algerian revolt is an old one. The chief menace to freedom in any country which has shaken off colonial bonds is its own army, as the leader of one of the first successful wars of liberation observed almost two centuries ago. Algeria, like the Dominican Republic, underscores the warning in George Washington's Farewell Address against "overgrown military establishments." The Army which brought Ben Bella to power resented his efforts to reduce its size, to divert its energies to constructive tasks, and to conciliate rebellious elements rathan than crush them by force. In Latin America, democratic Costa Rica and "Marxist-Leninist" Cuba demonstrate in their different ways that successful revolutions can survive only by getting rid of the regular army—and preventing a new one from taking its place. U.S. hostility has forced Cuba to mobilize a huge force. Castro, who felt closer to Ben Bella than to any of the Communist leaders, must see in Algerian events the need for keeping a sharp eye on his own Army, too.

As the military noose tightens, free elections are offered. But one condition is that the constitutionalists give up their arms. What if the military, after the arms are surrendered, renege on the promises of elections and amnesty? Who will defend them? The U.S. and the OAS? We have already shown that when the chips are down they stand with the military. It must be painful for thoughtful Latin Americans to see that at such a moment the U.S. Senate voted unanimously for an Inter-American military force backed up with our foreign aid dollars, and that liberals like Morse and Gruening also voted for it. For years both men have campaigned against military aid to Latin America as a breeder of rightist dictatorship. Both men have criticized our support for the oligarchies. But the Dominican affair shows us that an Inter-American military force is only a hemispheric alliance of the military and the oligarchy. The free countries are hostile to the idea. Except for 20 policemen from Costa Rica, the troops are supplied by rightist military regimes we support in Brazil, Honduras, Salvador and Paraguay. They are crushing the hopes of democracy in Santo Domingo. They will do it elsewhere.

The Clue to That Cigarette Warning Is That Every Tobacco State Senator Voted For It

The Senate has passed a bill to warn the public against cigarette smoking, but the main beneficiaries of the bill will be the cigarette industry and its Madison Avenue allies. They are also its most enthusiastic supporters. Every tobacco-state senator voted for it and one of them, Morton of Kentucky, led much of the floor fight for it.

The bill does require a health warning on each package, but this is not likely to give the industry much trouble. It says only that smoking "may be hazardous to your health," and it will probably be as inconspicuous as it is unpersuasive. The real key to cigarette sales is advertising, but the primary accomplishment of the Senate bill is to keep the Federal Trade Commission from interfering with it. The Commission is prohibited for three years from requiring a health warning in advertising. If Congress then permits the Commission to go ahead with a warning, its enforcement can be delayed another four years by litigation. An amendment by Senator Neuberger to limit the prohibition to one year was defeated 49-29, despite the strenuous efforts of Robert Kennedy. He together with Clark (D., Pa.), Douglas (D., Ill.) and Nelson (D., Wisc.) voted against the entire bill because, as Kennedy put it, the bill "will be of great help to the cigarette and tobacco industries."

In its report on the bill, the Commerce Committee made a faint effort to offset the weakness of the bill and the pro-industry bias of its hearings. It noted that although 39 physicians and scientists tried to discredit the Surgeon General's report in their testimony, "no prominent medical or scientific body undertaking a systematic review of the evidence has reached conclusions opposed to those of the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee." Thanks to Senator Norris Cotton (R., Vt.), the report also encouraged the FTC to take action against companies which in their advertising contradict the health warning on the package.

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Nazi Disrupter Went Free on $20 Bond But Ten Civil Rights Demonstrators Put Up $3,000

Mississippi Negroes Find Themselves Unexpectedly "At Home" in the Capital

Twenty-one Negroes from Mississippi joined several hundred students in Washington last week to lobby for the unseating of the five Congressmen from their state. It wasn't long before they began to think they were back in Mississippi. The Clerk of the House, Ralph Roberts, first refused to see them about the printing of 600 pages of testimony which is the main evidence for the Congressional Challenge. The printing has now been delayed several weeks. Roberts then promised the Mississippians an appointment in writing, but he failed to show up. When the delegation decided to sit-in at his office and wait, Speaker McCormack ordered 10 of them arrested. They were taken to jail, fingerprinted, photographed, stripped of all personal belongings including cigarettes and prescription medicine, and refused legal counsel. After two nights and three days in jail they were released on a total of $3,000 bond. Last January McCormack did not even want to press charges when a member of the American Nazi Party broke into the House to protest a resolution supporting the Challenge. The Nazi was later arrested and released on $20 bond. "The only difference between Washington and Mississippi," said one of the Negroes after her release from jail, "is that in Mississippi they 'fess up to what they are."

Bitter Memorial

The arrests provided a bitter background to the memorial services marking the first anniversary of the martyred deaths of Goodman, Schwerner and Chaney. The Congressional Challenge is the real solution to what they died for. The South won't continue to evade federal voting rights laws if it learns that the price of evasion is loss of representation in Congress. The House rules require a floor vote on the Challenge by July 4, but the delaying tactics of the Clerk seem designed to postpone voting until late in the second session when an unseating would have little meaning. Since the Clerk's office is funded and supervised by the Southern-dominated Committee on Administration, he is not likely to aid the Challenge without support from the House leadership. This does not seem to be forthcoming. A protest from nine liberal Congressmen led by Conyers of Michigan has produced no results. A strong stand by the Democratic Study Group would be influential, but so far it has refused to commit itself.

Wm. F. Ryan for Mayor

We urge our readers to support Wm. F. Ryan for New York City's Democratic Mayoralty nomination at the primary Sept 14. No member of Congress has a better, few have as good a record on peace, civil rights and domestic legislation than Congressman Ryan. The problems of our greatest city will not be solved by conventional municipal reform. The decay that has created a human jungle in its heart can only be wiped out by novel measures on a scale the Federal government has never yet attempted except for war and space exploration. New York needs a Mayor with the vision and the experience in Washington to press for such a program. Not only the slums but a whole sector of human lives needs to be rehabilitated. Not since La Guardia has New York had a chance to obtain a Mayor of similar stature. His nomination and election would have seismic repercussions in State and national politics: it would prove that imagination, courage and progressivism can pay off politically. Every major issue, from peace to the poverty program, would be affected for the better. Those who ring doorbells for Ryan can awaken invigorating echoes to every area of American politics.

The response of individual Congressmen to the lobbying, which was organized by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, has also been disappointing. Liberals like Emanuel Celler (*D., N.Y.*), Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Frank Bolling (*D., Mo.*), a founder of the Democratic Study Group, and Frank Thompson (*D., N.J.*), another founder, have been equivocal in their support. Celler said he wanted to see the evidence first, as if there was some suspicion in his mind that Negroes really could vote freely in Mississippi. Edna Kelley, a Democrat from Brooklyn, shocked visiting students, who had heard of her as a liberal, by attacking Negroes as well as the Challenge. "We can't even get them to vote in New York," she said and then rudely told the lobbyists that she didn't require their help in voting. John Lindsay of New York was not available for comment, but the students reported that his assistant was evasive and opposed their seeing the Congressman personally. "They sure change their style when the press leave and the TV lights go off," said one Mississippi Negro about police treatment at the jail. She might said said it about the Congress too.

When Will A Negro Judge Be Named to Sit on The Federal Bench in the South?

The appointment of former Governor Coleman of Mississippi to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals is an affront to the civil rights movement. One of the first appeals he will hear is U.S. v. Mississippi. In this he will be asked to declare unconstitutional the white supremacy legislation he helped to pass as Governor. At present he is legal counsel for the five Mississippi Congressmen challenged by the Freedom Democratic Party.

Homer Thornberry, Johnson's other appointment to the Circuit, is being billed as a liberal counterweight but his record on civil rights is not much more palatable. As Congressman from Texas, he voted against the 1957 voting rights act, for the 1960 measure and abstained on the 1963 bill though his political future had been made secure by appointment to a Federal district judgeship. The Circuit Court has been 4-to-3 liberal. It will be a miracle if this does not make it 5-to-4 the other way.

Johnson had two options more favorable to civil rights. He could have left the two vacancies open. Chief Justice Warren has been assigning northern judges to assist on cases in the 5th and this could have been used to put pressure on Eastland not to block the appointment of a Mississippian friendly to Negro rights. Strange to say, there are some. Among them are Robert Farley, retired dean of Ole Miss Law School; Leonard Rosenthal, a brilliant lawyer who passed his bars at 19; and Dixon Pyles, an able labor lawyer with AFL-CIO support. The ideal appointment would have been Jack Young, an experienced Negro attorney from Jackson. He has the distinction of having been recommended to the state bar by Eastland's good friend, U.S. District Judge Harold Cox. A Negro Federal judge in the South would be a symbol of real change.

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Calling for A Teach-In In Every Town and City in the United States

(*Continued from Page One*)

the necessities imposed upon him by his position.

Beware The Team Spirit

Only the first group, in our opinion, can have some impact on American public opinion and thus perhaps put some brake on the war machine. We will not create a "pause for reflection" by adding from our own side to hate and hysteria. War is the greatest of human sports, and it is a spectator sport. As in football or baseball, those who cheer for their team from the grandstand enjoy the catharsis of vicarious conflict. Even the peace movement in times of rising tension often becomes a disguised vehicle for aggression and hatred. We're not going to calm our fellow citizens by jumping up and down, screaming. We're not going to aid the cause of peaceful co-existence by demonstrating that we cannot even co-exist peacefully with our own fellow citizens. So long as we can still speak and write and preach and march and demonstrate, it is our duty to our country and the world to try and do so in a way which will persuade, not provoke. We must appeal to kindness and to reason. These though slim are our only hope.

We hope the student movement will not be led astray by stunt-mongers and suicide tactics. We believe the teach-ins have made extraordinary progress. The Washington teach-in was too diffuse, the TV discussion with Bundy was too concerned with abstractions. But debate has been opened up. The Administration has been put on the defensive. The polls show that while the majority is prepared to support Johnson wherever he leads, in the sheep-like way that human herds always move toward war, the educated minority question his course. Our job is by the widening of debate to increase their number. Add their dissent to a general anxiety and we have leverage for peace. It is reflected in the Senate where Robert F. Kennedy, in the spirit of his brother's American University speech, was calling at press time for a fresh effort to bring China into talks to end the proliferation of nuclear weapons. It was reflected in the unusually wide response that speech stirred from more than a dozen worried Senators on the floor.

Storm Warnings Everywhere

"A chill wind is blowing through the leading western security markets. Wall Street is uneasy, Tokyo is demoralized, Paris is depressed, and London has little to be cheerful about. The combination of widespread prosperity and stock market uncertainty has prompted several leading bankers recently to draw rough parallels with the late 1920s and early 1930s. A true comparison would, of course, be wholly unrealistic as world conditions and built-in safety valves have transformed the picture. But the view is gaining currency that if the Austrian Creditanstalt crash of 1931 was the obvious lynchpin of the great slump, so Japan's present financial malaise may start the recession of 1965-66. With the Tokyo stock market once again plumbing new lows yesterday, the Bank of Japan has pledged support for 19 securities firms to meet withdrawal demands from clients."

—City (Financial) Editor, London Times, June 18.

If the teach-ins can be taken from the campuses to the communities, if we can have teach-ins in every town or city, we can build up formidable pressure for peace.

But this demands a real effort to reach and teach, to speak in a tone not of desperation but of faith in the power to touch the hearts and minds of our fellow Americans. The wonderful students I have seen at various teach-ins, from Washington to Berkeley, have achieved more than any one dreamed was possible a few months ago. They must widen their efforts. Their task is not to express alienation, or to bring about estrangement, but to make free institutions work in foreign policy. Their duty is to help humanity by furthering the reconciliation on which our survival depends, reconciliation with our Communist rivals abroad, reconciliation in equality between white and black men at home, the consciousness of common heritage and of common danger as human beings, the urgent necessity of brotherhood. Religious faith and revolutionary zeal could make a contribution if they joined in this healing task.

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SUMMER SCHEDULE: The Weekly will be published every other week in July (July 12 and July 26) and go on vacation as usual during August, resuming with the first week in September.

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